/213 cont./

231 423 in this by the availability of water. For these reasons dwellings continued to be mobile and transitory, though not so improvised as before, since some were built in regions that served as general headquarters while they were absent with their herds.

231 312 423 In order to take full advantage of pasture in some regions where water was scarce during the summer, the community would dig wells and even build small dams to collect rain water which could be made use of by all those who had co-operated in the construction or by those who legally had access to them. Land which the new well or dam brought into use could be used by all those who had rights to it to water their livestock, a legal form practiced to this day.

At the present time we find on the land of each clan a variable number of wells which generally have been made by communal labor; all members of the family group are permitted access to them. Based on this indispensable need for water the Indians have built more stable, secure, and comfortable housing around these watering places, which are to be found on the best grazing land without encroaching on agricultural land and avoiding causing harm to their neighbors' pasturage. In this way every clan member in any region has ample pasture land at his disposal situated /214/ near his dwelling, on which he can graze his livestock during normal times in the peninsula without having to drive them to other pasture with the change of seasons or interfering in the economic life of his close neighbors.

231 423 361 However, as La Guajira suffers from periods of drought during prolonged summers which totally destroy all grass and dries up the sources of water, the Guajiro is forced to migrate from one place to another in search of food and drink for his herds. In these movements he calls at the traditional clan lands situated in different parts of the peninsula, to which he has legal access by marriage rights; or, as a last resort, he va de remonta, that is, he drives his herds to the pasture lands of the clan groups living in the mountains where the winter arrives earlier than in the other regions and consequently is ready for earlier grazing; hence they can lend their aid to the men of the plains /llanura/ who

/214 cont./

231 find themselves in difficulties. In payment for this benefit of
361 pasturage and use of water a cow /res/ or goat is given on enter-
423 ing. Also, it is customary voluntarily to give another animal when leaving, or a personal gift to the head of the region visited.

423 Recently a new aspect of this general situation has risen:
425 Small but well-to-do families construct a well near their dwell-
178 ings or in the adjacent pasture land without any assistance from the community. The other Guajiro admit that the family who made this well has first right to its use but affirm that they are under obligation to permit it to be used by others when in need. Nevertheless, it is becoming common for well-to-do families to deny its use even to needy individuals of their own clan, with whom they no longer wish to recognize family ties that would otherwise bind them.

These phenomena have made the concept of communal land ownership evolve. By depriving others of access to the sources of water supply, rich families usurp for themselves the common lands to which this water source is essential. In this way zones of private property are established which permit more sedentary stock raising as well as the construction of sounder and more comfortable dwellings. These new landowners are beginning to fence off their property into veritable haciendas, a state of affairs which were never before seen in the former stages of social evolution.

Another fact that is giving rise to private ownership of land is the reclaiming of wasteland by the construction of wells, since whoever makes one becomes the individual owner of the land involved, land which can be transmitted by inheritance according to the norms of inheritance already studied. /215/

In addition to the cases noted, there is another system of acquiring land, and it is the usurpation of the property of those conquered in a war provoked by the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability of a clan group. Such land, distributed with all the other goods taken from those conquered, goes to enrich the family property of the victors.

[2 cont.]

133 The greater part of the coast of La Guajira, which measures in all some 350 kilometers, belongs to Colombia. It starts from the Río Hacha in the west and extends to Lake Maracaibo in the east. It may be divided into two general parts, one low and liable to flooding, the other highland rising sheer from the coast. The low part starts from Pajaina Channel, which flows into Lake Maracaibo in front of San Carlos Island and continues approximately to the port of Cojoro. From there onward the land rises from the sea in the form of cliffs roughly to the level of Castilletes, a point where the coast level descends slightly to rise again near Punta Espada due to the eastern spurs from the Sierra de Macuira, which, as we have noted in previous paragraphs, then lose themselves in the sea. From this point, going always toward the west, the coast is rocky and inaccessible because of its continental structure.

[135 317] In the far western part of the La Guajira coast we find the most important saltworks that are being exploited in the country, such as those of Pájaro, Manaure, and Bahía Honda which supply salt to the major part of the coastal departments and even to those in the interior of the republic. The coast of this part has numerous beautiful and deep bays among which Bahía Honda is outstanding. [136] Along the coast rich fishing grounds are found, such as Bahía Honda, Cabo de la Vela, Cardón, and Carrizal, centers of fishing and pearl exploitation. Unfortunately, it has not been found practicable to make use of all the commercial navigation [312] and fishing possibilities of this coast due to the absence of potable water in the vicinity. This we were well able to appreciate when we found that the water required for drinking in Carrizal and San José de Bahía Honda, during our stay in these regions, was transported distances greater than ten kilometers.

361 504 The most important ports of the coast of La Guajira, from west to east, are Ahuyama; Manaure, center of the salt industry; Cardón and Carrizal, pearl fishing centers; San José de Bahía Honda, on the bay of the same name, also engaged in the salt industry, and Puerto Estrella, center of the maritime traffic of motorized sailing boats plying between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, and Puerto López.

[4 cont.]
221 on the other hand, is a synonym of hunger, misery, and of death.

221 The conditions of their geographical situation and the oc-
361 cupation of stock grazing, to which the Indians have devoted
233 themselves since the Conquest, have accentuated their nomadic character because of the need to bring their herds to places where the indispensable pasture and water are available. Furthermore, this need has held back the formation of towns in the true sense of the word, as what is called a ranchería ["hamlet"] in La Guajira is nothing more than two or three huts of wood and thatch, inhabited by people related to each other and which may be several kilometers away from other rancherías. The presence of water at minimum distances greatly influences the location [5] of these habitations, so that the occupants are not obliged to walk long distances.

177 Only in those localities where the influences of civilizados
361 [generally, nonnatives] are greatly felt do we find what we may call urban centers, but in these the foreign element is more in evidence than the aboriginal. Such for example is the case of Uribia, capital of the Comisaría; Nazaret, a mission center; Maicao, Puerto Estrella, and Carraipía, points of trade with Venezuela, Aruba, Curaçao, and the interior of the country; and Manaure and Bahía Honda, centers of the salt industry.

• • •

175 The Guajiro Indian was never completely conquered.
648 Throughout the Conquest and the colonization, he kept up a series of wars with the Spanish authorities, whom he learned always to resist, thus maintaining his independence. But he kept up his trade relations with the whites, not only Spaniards but Europeans in general, who reached his shores where they established stations for fishing and the pearl trade, as well as with the group of Spaniards resident in Ríohacha, the western limit of the peninsula.

175 These contacts with European civilization were slowly
177 changing their ways of life in the major part of its aspects, whenever the Guajiro incorporated a series of relatively new elements

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirnues or Piesies, a small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between Ara-ura and Itujoro, the Güaririües, a mere handful of Indians under the protectorate of the Jirnu, the Sijuanas, Soouanas, Arapainayúes, Sámuriues, Araurujunas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes, strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds, and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tigor frequent Taroa and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete, Ipuanas and Epinayues abound. In the neighbourhood of Anipana the Ipuanas and Jusayues are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are Jusayues, and near Las Guardias at Guarero, Sapuanas; these three latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw. They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs, and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force, pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back. The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the Montes of Oca as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations, especially between Ciapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal Cocina chiefs are Alyechipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an Uriana, and rules the country about Anipana and Yuripicho—he is the worst and most feared of the lot; Porón, an Arpushaina, another devil—he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Masapain, a Jusayú, lords it all about the Tota; and Morejillo, a Sapuana, is chief of the country about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

579 648 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

342 The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The [513] rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles (*tchepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palúmaler*) [417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. ● 361 The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other 621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is [712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the [552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct [423] name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are 103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha 443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta 592 Espada, is Guarerpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirnu. Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chémunuo; chief, José Agustin, a 621 Jallariá, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Maguaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epioyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Merunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Salpa, is Epioyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Joroy; chief, Majutó, an Ipuana; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Moscote. In the neighbourhood are: Guarirpanturi; chief, Concón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Aipiapá, a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well Kapaulera, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Morunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guinena, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacrificed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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122 As a last word I may say from personal experience that the Goajira is an interesting but not a beautiful country, nor is it a desirable place for travelling, either for pleasure or for commerce. Not that there is any actual danger under ordinary circumstances, but what between drunken bloodthirsty Indians, blood- and tear-money, with all the intricacies of their own peculiar laws, travelling among them is as bad as sitting on a keg of gunpowder before a big fire. It is impossible to foretell when a mere spark, accidentally or intentionally, may blow the whole thing up.

APPENDIX.

361 614 825 *List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places.*

Uriana ..	Canahapur	Tiger	About Taroa and Bahia Honda.
" ..	Arpaná	Rabbit	About Cuco and Maracaybo coast.
" ..	Guiupiral	A singing bird ..	Everywhere.
" ..	Hokóriu	Gecko (lizard) ..	Only in the plains.
Epleyú ..	Guaruscche	A species of vulture	Bahia Honda, Puerto Estrella, and plains.
Pushaina ..	Puiche ..	A species of small peccary.	Pemshi, Ataipa, and plains.
Ipuana ..	Mushará ..	A sort of hawk ..	Portete Joroy, Ciapana, &c.
Jayariú ..	Er ..	Dog	Macuira and plains.
Jumayú ..	Kasiaurie	Rat-snake	Tota, Hayaro.
Arpushaina ..	Sumur ..	Vulture	Guinoua and plains, Cohoro.
Sapuana ..	Garina ..	Hen	Plains, Guarero.
" ..	Cirral ..	A species of stork ..	(?)
Epinayu ..	Uyára ..	A small buck ..	Portete, Hayarure.
Jirnu or Pleé	Guarir ..	Fox	Only in the Macuira valley.
Secuana ..	Gliorgüer or Guaruscche.	Species of vulture ..	Only in the Upper Goajira.
Urariyú ..	Mára ..	Rattlesnake	Everywhere.
Pauayú ..	Huche ..	(?)	(?)
Sijuana ..	Cóori ..	Wasp	Upper Goajira only.
Guaririu ..	Guarir ..	Fox	Only in the hills of Macuira.
Guaúriu or Guau-uriu.	Por ..	Partridge	Taroa and Upper Goajira.
Arapainayú ..	Anuwana ..	Species of vulture ..	Upper Goajira only.
Samuriú ..	Hopépa ..	Owl	" "
Arpuiuta ..	Iechú ..	Red cardinal bird ..	" "
Uchuraiú ..	Aro all Coeina Indians		Cohoro hills only.
Araurujuna ..	A small, almost unknown tribe in the hills of Macuira.		
Gliorguoriyú	Gliorgüer or Guaruscche.	Species of vulture	Only in the hills of Upper Goajira.

[262] N.B.—The Samurides, a very small caste, eat horseflesh and donkeys. This is considered by the other Indians to be very unclean, who, until lately, did not even eat fowls. All Indians are, however, fond of a species of lizard, "gumsher," and iguanas.

[pages 797-840 do not pertain to SC13 Goajiro]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *smu* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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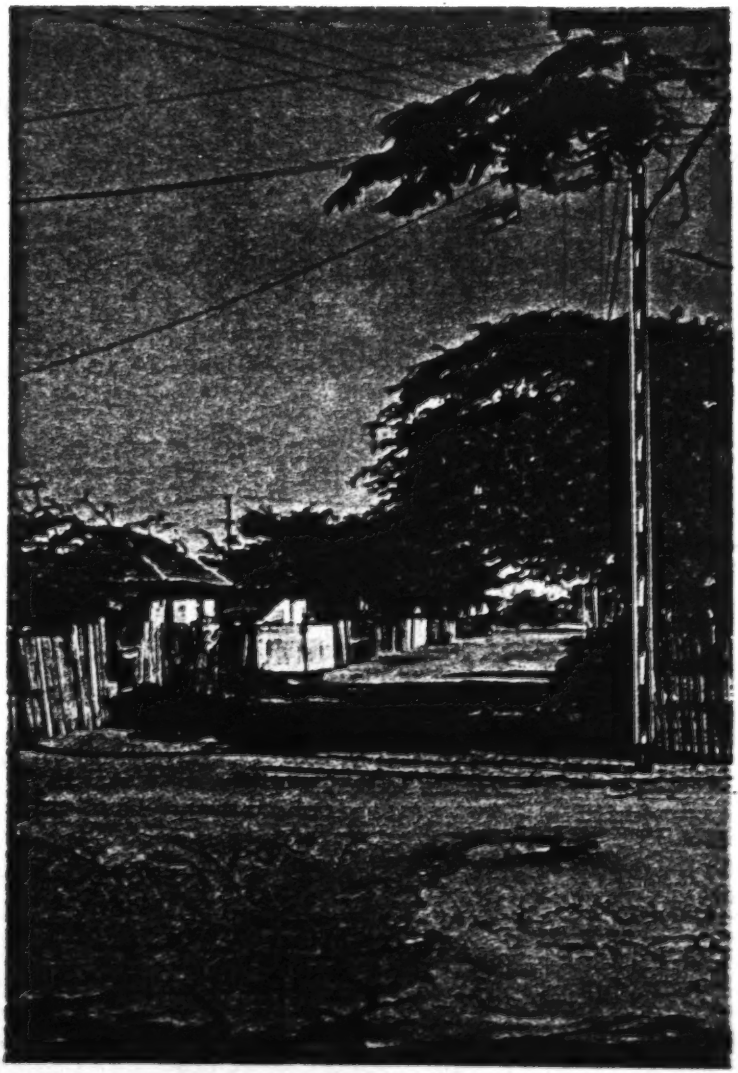

The Guajiro town at Maracaibo

[facing p. 136]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Indians with a stolen goat near the Cusina Hills

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The white man's dangerous magic: the film-camera

Below: *Indian camp with cactus fence*

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[facing p. 144]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Guajiro Indians in the leafy south. One is painted

Below: *The Indians' Venice*

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[Facing p. 161]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area (Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-